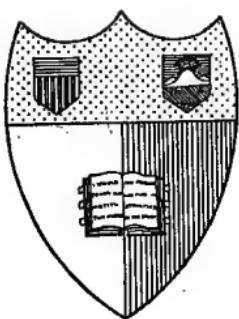


GERMAN &
ENGLISH
EDUCATION
A COMPARATIVE STUDY



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**GERMAN AND ENGLISH
EDUCATION**

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A COMPARATIVE STUDY

BY

FR. DE HOVRE, Ph.D.

"MAÎTRE DE CONFÉRENCES" ON THE PHILOSOPHY OF
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TO
MY MOTHER

“ If public education is to have any real value for humanity, it must imitate the means which make the merits of domestic education ; for it is my opinion that if school teaching does not take into consideration the circumstances of family life, and everything else that bears on a man’s general education, it can only lead to an artificial and methodical dwarfing of humanity.”—Pestalozzi, “ My Stay at Stanz.”

FOREWORD

IN the following pages an attempt has been made to give in brief the organic principles of German and English education. The manner in which the two educational systems are unfolded, characterized, and contrasted will, we hope, bring home to the reader the deeper nature of education, its philosophical background, its interdependence on all departments of life, its momentous function in the national organism.

In this way, the present essay may help to widen the outlook on matters educational and thus lend a shoulder as it were to that task which, according to the conclusions of the essay, is held to be one of the most urgent needs of the time, namely, the extension of the educational horizon.

As the reader will soon be aware, the material condensed in the following pages could easily lend itself to ampler development. Professional men, however, will readily be able to read into it whatever could have been added; and as to the general public, which commonly has little appetite for lengthy treatises on education, we trust that the

presenting a bird's-eye view of what is really a wide and varied question, may have the effect not of lowering but of heightening their interest in the subject and in the educational problem in general.

I must express my heartiest thanks to Mr. Frederick Duckett of St. Wilfrid's School, Preston, for many valuable suggestions and for his kindness in carefully reading the manuscript and assisting in the correction of proofs.

DR. FRANS DE HOVRE.

ST. THOMAS' HOME, PRESTON (LANCS),
All Saints, 1916.

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**GERMAN AND ENGLISH
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I

INTRODUCTION

IN the course of history every great crisis has been invariably followed by a new movement in education. The great revolutions, innovations, and reforms are landmarks in the history of education. Thus the rise of Christianity, the Renaissance, the Reformation, the French Revolution are the turning points of Western Civilization, and at the same time mark the main phases of educational investigation. The reactions thus felt in the world of education are especially noticeable in the characteristic movements of the last century. For nationalism has adapted education to the peculiar needs of each nation ; democracy has extended education to the masses ; industry has brought cultural aims into closer contact with daily life ; the scientific movement has multiplied the material of education, widened its horizon and standardized its methods ; the modern State and the social movement have largely reshaped its organization. All great reformers—from Plato to Luther, Rousseau, Fichte—have felt the need of

educational enquiry and have expressed their views on education. A new conception of life means a new educational orientation, and thus every modern philosophical movement has had its parallel movement in education. The new philosophy, variously called pragmatism, voluntarism, activism, considering intellectualism as its chief enemy has brought about a very characteristic movement which has declared war against our abstract intellectual culture, claimed deeper moral culture, more will—and character—training and exalted the 'learning-by doing' principle.

These facts are sufficient to impress on every one that a time of reconstruction is also a time of new educational interest. Moreover, reform and education are not only interdependent in fact, they are also most intimately connected in principle. Reform means a break with the past ; therefore it is bound by its very nature to rebuild education which is the chief channel of tradition. Reform means renovation of the present and the great fountain of renovation of our present life is our educational organization. Reform has its eyes fixed on the future and the great threads with the future are woven by education. The rising generation, the family, the school and other social elements and institutions, which are the condensers of the past, the fertilisers of the present, the levers of the future, are the nerves of our educational system.

This is the lesson of history and the teaching of the very idea of education and reform. If further proof were needed, it could be found in the great crisis through which we are now passing. Many asserted that educational problems were out of place in the atmosphere of war ; others pointed with sarcastic finger to the alleged failure of all the theoretical discussions of pre-war days. But the facts have both discredited the critics and confounded the scoffers. The crisis is not yet over and even those who never believed in the power of education, or at any rate looked upon educational study with the utmost scepticism, have been won over by the influence of public opinion, which has unhesitatingly put the educational question in the forefront of all immediate reform.

War is a great destroyer, but it is also a great revealer. This war especially has been a touch-stone of man-power, of financial resources, of industrial organization ; a crucible for every department of life : a test of national staying power and efficiency. But the longer the strain and the trial last, the more it becomes clear that the human factor is destined to be decisive. What is paramount in the fighter of to-day is first of all moral force, and this cannot be exaggerated. But this has been true in every war. What, however, has been put in the foreground in the present struggle on a quite unprecedented scale is the trained brain-power, the scientific equipment, the mental culture and the intellectual capacity of the nation as a

whole. It is a remarkable fact that this aspect has forcibly struck public opinion in this country, and that the Press with almost complete unanimity has spoken of the war as a test of the efficiency of national education.

Thus the war has opened people's eyes to the national meaning of education. Many for the first time now understand that education is an organ of national life as vital as its economic and political organization ; many now are convinced that the power of education for the woe or weal of the nation is not eclipsed by that of any other province of national activity.

By itself, this national meaning of education would already suffice to do away for ever with the views, which have largely discredited education as a branch of more general interest and study, which have represented it as being only the concern of the teacher, the business of the school, and which have maintained that educational theory is useful only for the technical training of the professional man and consists at most in a synthesis of methodological principles of teaching and training.

* * *

However, apart from its national meaning, education offers a series of other aspects which it is worth considering before coming to a closer examination of our subject.

For instance, the individual meaning of education is so obvious that it only needs mentioning. Though

all of us appreciate our culture, our interest is too often circumscribed by the practical benefit it bestows. Yet whatever opinion be held as to the power of education, it is beyond question that the tendencies of our moral life, the orientation of our mental capacities, the convictions of our spiritual life are to a large extent the product of our education. What we know, what we think, feel, will, and believe, in short, what we are, has been, in a great measure, elaborated and fashioned under the influence of an organization in which a considerable part of our life has been spent. Is it not worth while devoting our interest to an understanding of that system which has presided over our genesis and to a deeper knowledge of the forces which have built the very bases of our life? The extension of education in the last century has brought us sharply against the fact that a third part of the life of each generation is devoted to its education. If really we have any serious belief in education can we any longer doubt the supreme importance of educational theory, facts, and organization?

Nor again is the social, civic, and political meaning of education less striking. The social question is at bottom an educational question. The great causes of social inequalities are educational inequalities and the great means of bringing classes and individuals on a footing of equality in the struggle for life is to assure them the same educational opportunities. Education therefore has a social significance. Its civic and political meaning

is also most apparent. Democracy will prove a failure if the education of the people does not keep pace with their political responsibilities. Education of the people is the *sine qua non* of sound democracy.

The economic significance of education also has in the end stirred public opinion, which will be still more aroused by the coming industrial struggle after the war. In the last analysis, the greatest industrial resources are human brains and energies. If these are left unexploited or are being exploited wrongly, all the natural and historical prerogatives of the nation, all the strenuous labour of its individuals will in the end be unable to stand the strain of foreign competition.

There remains further the historical aspect of education. Education is not only a socialising power of the first magnitude, but it is also a great historical link. It is the nerve of tradition, the great channel of continuity, the connecting bond of generations, the great treasury of our social inheritance.

But, apart from its practical influence, education is interesting for its own sake, lending itself, as it does, to a truly scientific study. It is not less curious to know how a nation educates its children than to know its political, social, and economic organization. The educational system is the work of the genius of a nation, and, although it is not as expressive as its literature and art, it bears nevertheless the marks of the national mind. Moreover the study of the child is its own reward. Linnæus called botany the "lovely science." Yet if he could have seen

the mechanical processes through which flowers and plants are to-day passing in our laboratories, he would perhaps have retracted his words. Were he now to survey the wide field of knowledge he could surely find no science more deserving of the title than the science of education, for its central object is the study of the child, the eternal flower of the nation, the inexhaustible spring of love in mankind.

Finally, the study of education has a philosophical meaning. Just as 'man' is the central object of all sciences and also the most fascinating of all studies, so is education which is the 'making of man' a central science. As the foregoing brief sketches show, this study considered in its ensemble is in close contact with all provinces of knowledge. In this respect it is a microcosm of knowledge, a science of science, a philosophy of its own or at least a great avenue leading to the heart of philosophy.

* * *

The above considerations sufficiently indicate that education affects every realm of life. None escapes its influence. On the other hand, every one of those realms of life has its bearing on education. There is action and reaction and inter-dependence. Education, for instance, is a condition of social life, but social life is also a condition of education. Social institutions have an educational effect and determine everywhere the style and spirit of educational organisation. All provinces of national life are articulated. They form an organic

whole. They are the organs of the national organism which has its own life-principle, its own spirit and soul. This soul of the nation pervades the life of all the parts: the spirit of the organism governs the activity of every organ.

It is from such a standpoint as we have taken therefore that we view the subject of "German and English Education." Educational details such as the differences between the various kinds of schools and their respective curricula, the comparison of different sets of educational legislation, etc., could no doubt be very objective and true to reality, but could on the other hand hardly lay bare the organic principles of each educational system. By isolating education, by viewing it only in itself, we break the links with the whole; whereas it is these links that hold the key to the characteristic principles. Aristotle says that the method proceeding from the whole to the parts is the most natural. According to this principle we shall begin by a short analysis of the German and the English soul, and from that central standpoint we shall view the educational principles of both systems.

This method favoured by Aristotle has another advantage, which is of no little importance at this moment. By trying to penetrate to the organic principles, to the spirit and the essence of both educational conceptions, we are bound to discover what is best in each view, according to another saying of Aristotle that "the essence contains the best of each particular thing."

II

THE SOUL OF MODERN GERMANY

MANY books have been written about the "soul of Germany." Militarism, State-absolutism, German philosophy, German education have been severally set down as the root of German life. Undoubtedly these are all very characteristic of German life, but not one of them by itself could pretend to represent the whole soul of Germany. So, for instance, the activity of the Germans has been too intense in all provinces and their life too various to be explained merely by the principles of militarism. In reality all these characteristics of German life spring from a common root. They are the upshoots of one organic conception which lies at the bottom of every expression of their life and this fundamental conception they name their Kultur. Such, at all events, is the conviction of the Germans themselves, and, in question of national ideals, outsiders are very easily mistaken. Kultur therefore constitutes the real soul of Germany.

What is meant by Kultur? The best way to grasp what it means is to go back to its origin. Kultur is something German; it is an historical

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product of their life, and therefore it is only by noting its development that we shall come to see its full and cumulative meaning.

Being the real soul of the new Germany, Kultur is really the foundation-stone upon which the German Empire has been built. It is as old as the very idea of the German nation, with which it is most closely bound up.

The new Germany dates as far back as the beginning of the nineteenth century, those eventful years that saw the birth of the national idea, truly one of the landmarks of the whole century.

In order to estimate the revolution which the national idea caused in Europe it is necessary to bear in mind that the eighteenth century had been in fact and still more in theory the century of internationalism or what they called at that time cosmopolitanism. Germany itself in the eighteenth century had not only been greatly attracted by the cosmopolitic ideas of the French philosophers but had even become estranged to its own genius. There was even a movement in favour of exotism (Ausländerei-Bewegung) which was simply an infatuation for everything French. The French language and literature were the favourite branches of study not only of Frederick the Great but of all the higher classes. Everything German was underrated.

But by the end of the eighteenth century, great classical writers had revealed the beauty and the richness of the German language. Then came the Napoleonic wars which, by their very oppression,

everywhere aroused national exasperation, Germany itself being brought to ruin by the defeat at Jena in 1806.

* * *

It was in those dark days that the national idea ripened in the German mind. The noise of battle had scarcely ceased before the man arose who was to give voice to the sentiments which had gradually matured in the German heart. This apostle of German nationalism was Fichte. In 1808, two years after the defeat of Jena, he delivered in Berlin his famous "Discourses to the German Nation" which are the gospel of German nationalism and contain the very pith and substance of their *Kultur*.

The more everything German had been disparaged before, the more it was then exalted. Nationalism was a reaction and as such it went to the other extreme. Fichte declared himself a citizen of Europe as late as 1804 and yet in 1808 we find him expressing such an "extravagant cultus" of everything German that the distinction between 'German' and 'foreign' was almost identical with that between 'good' and 'bad.' "¹

Fichte found the highest expression of the German nation in the German language. The German language, says Fichte, must be loved not only as the expression of the German mind, but also because it is the only purely original language in Europe. All others have been corrupted by Latin

¹ *Veberweg, "History of Philosophy," Vol. II, p. 212.*

and Greek. German alone has remained pure. Continuing, he maintains that a nation with such an original language must trace its descent from the birth of humanity. It must be a primitive nation. And in this way it comes about that the German nation is the oldest people in Europe. Moreover such a language must have been fashioned by a people with an original mind ; therefore the German mind must be the only one which is truly original. The German mind, on the other hand, must be original not only in the elaboration of its language, but also in the expression of its feelings and thoughts, in all the provinces of its activity, namely, in its religion, philosophy, poetry, science, art, industry, social organization, education, etc. Such a nation, in short, must have its own idiosyncrasy in all departments of life. It must have its own Kultur. Thus Fichte laid the national foundation-stone of German Kultur.

It is not difficult, moreover, in his "Discourses" to observe the germ of other ideas. For instance, if in reality the German nation is the only one that is original, then all others must be inferior (DEUTSCHLAND-UEBER-ALLES-THEORY) : and if she is above all others, she has a great task, a great mission before her, namely, "eine Kultur-mission." She has to impart her Kultur to other nations (Pan-Germanism).

* * *

The nation warrants the originality of Kultur ; the State assures its consolidation. Though the

idea of the Kultur-State was already revolving in the mind of Fichte, it was by Hegel that the political foundation of Kultur was laid.

Hegel's conception of the State in general, his view of the German State and his idea of the German Kultur-State will explain the meaning of this political aspect of Kultur.

According to Hegel, the State is previous to the individual, previous to all social institutions ; it existed before the family, before society, before the nation and the Church. Just as the premisses imply the conclusion, just as the Absolute dominates the contingent and the universal includes the particular and the class, in the same way the State implies the individual and the social institutions. The State is the source of all existence, the creator of all rights, the highest power on earth, the "realization of the moral idea," the "divine will," the "earthly divinity."

By his view that "the rational is real and the real is rational," Hegel very soon came to regard the German State as the truest embodiment of his State-idea. The organism of Germany, with him, is the German State ; the individuals are only its cells ; the social institutions are merely its organs. The German State stands supreme above its members ; in the same way the German State is supreme over and rests under no obligation to any other State. The German State is a closed system, bound by no power on earth, absolute, omnipotent. Its own life, its own existence is its one concern.

The place to be assigned to Kultur is thus clearly indicated: it will be but another subservient element in the German State. Kultur is the spiritual capital of the nation, the German State is its owner; Kultur is the soul, the State is the body of Germany; Kultur is the heart, the State is the protecting thorax of the national organism; Kultur is the marrow, the State is the backbone of Germany. On this so intimate connection between the two is founded the idea of the German Kultur-State.

Fichte and Hegel were the spiritual fathers of Germany, the two pioneers of the German Kultur idea. Later on their work was developed by others. The political basis of Kultur, established by Hegel, was afterwards indebted for development, firstly, on the side of history to Treitschke; secondly, in the world of practical politics to Bismarck; thirdly, in the realm of matters military to men like Scharnhorst, Hardenberg, to writers like Clausewitz, Moltke, Bernhardi.—The national basis of Kultur, conceived and laid by Fichte, was later developed in the various liberal sciences and other departments; so, for instance, in economic theory by the National-Economists, in practice by the Zollverein (Customs-Union).

If we take both its national and its political basis into consideration, German Kultur may be thus defined: “the whole of the creations and achievements of the German nation: its language, science, art, literature, industry, army, education, etc.,

organized and controlled by the German State for the German State."

* * *

But the meaning of Kultur becomes clearer when we begin to contrast it with civilization.

Kultur is something essentially national ; and in this respect, it is opposed to civilization. Civilization is international in principle, although in fact it is limited to a certain group of nations. Thus we speak of our Western Civilization, including the whole of Europe and America, as a unity based on similar familial, social, and political organizations, founded on kindred juridical and moral principles and on the same conception of life which receives its inspiration from Christianity. Consequently, the first distinction between Kultur and civilization lies in their extension : civilization is international ; Kultur is national. It would be a contradiction "in adjecto" to speak of an international Kultur and of a national civilization.

We arrive at their second distinction by an examination of their content. Civilization denotes organization in matters familial, social, political, juridical, moral, and religious ; civilization denotes above all the moral character, the building of the will and the moulding of the heart of its members. The Germans speak of " *Zivilisation*," and in the translation of the term by " *Gesittung* " (moralization), they emphasize this characteristic meaning.

Kultur, on the contrary, denotes the intellectual

achievements, the mental creations and products of one particular nation ; the term *Kultur* covers the degree of development of a nation in its various social grades, its learning, scientific schooling and investigation, the condition of its schools, the state of its literature, art, etc. ; in short, *Kultur* is primarily concerned with matters of the mind.

A third distinction becomes manifest by comparing their respective attitude towards human personality and the organic institutions of life.

German *Kultur* makes the German State supreme above all individuals and social institutions ; it is omnipotent within its own political boundaries, independent of all earthly power and ambitious of dominating the whole world.

Civilization regards the independence of human personality as its first principle and recognises the natural rights of the social institutions and also their hierarchy : the family, society, the nation and the State, the Church, and the brotherhood of mankind.

* * *

It is easy to note the difference between German *Kultur* and what the English generally mean by "culture." *Kultur* is national ; culture is individual. Nowadays the Germans never speak of an individual as "*kultiviert*" (cultured) ; instead they use the German term and speak of "*ein gebildeter Mann*," which is the equivalent of the

English "man of culture," and of the French "un homme cultivé."

* * *

The significance of German Kultur will stand out with even greater clearness when we subject it to critical examination. Therefore let us look into the question: What is right, what is wrong with Kultur?

Kultur is a word like "democracy," "socialism," "idealism," "evolutionism," "pessimism," etc. Each of these words can mean or at least has meant something very right and sometimes something very wrong. If they are pressed to exclusivism, i.e. to a closed conception of life, they denote something wrong; on the other hand, with limited interpretation, they denote something very right.

German Kultur, as defined above and embodied in the German Empire, is wrong, because it exalts everything German above everything else and aspires to rule the world; it is wrong because it is chained to the Kultur-State, which recognizes no right, justice, liberty nor conscience outside the national and political boundaries; it is wrong because it imposes itself as a conception of life elaborated on the narrow basis of nationalism and politicism. In this last respect, German Kultur is only a novel form of rationalism in national dress.

Moreover, facts are at hand to endorse this indictment. Cases in point are the "*Kulturkampf*"; the recent impeachment of Kultur by the Roman Catholic Bishops; last and by no means

least, the present war itself and the German military methods.

On the other hand, common fairness compels us to admit that "German Kultur" was not regarded and accepted by all Germans as a conception of life (*Lebensanschauung*). Amongst the Catholics and faithful Protestants "*Kulturfanatizismus*," as they called it, was simply stigmatized. Yet some explanation has to be found for the fact that the word is frequently on all lips, the idea in all minds and the enthusiasm for "Kultur" in all German hearts. Common sense suggests that, besides its meaning as explained above, Kultur must have another significance. As a matter of fact, this represents the true state of the case.

There is a German Kultur which claims to overrule the whole of life and which is wrong ; there is another conception of Kultur which is more restricted and which, although open to question, is at least admissible. "In every error, there is a portion of truth," says Spencer. The conception of Kultur, which is wrong, has been tried by us and found wanting ; it is only just that its more moderate and reasonable conception should receive the same careful examination.

This second conception of Kultur makes no sort of claim to be a general conception of life. Herein it differs vitally from the first view. Consequently this restricted conception rejects the political basis of Kultur, by which Kultur culminates in the German State, and adheres only to its national

basis, which as a rule it strips of Fichte's chauvinistic and pan-Germanistic exaggeration. Accordingly "Kultur" means only "Germanism" (*Deutschheit*), the cult of German nationality, which, according to the German view, is rooted in the "spiritual capital" of the nation, i.e. in its language, literature, art, science, etc.

Whatever view be held as to what is the true basis of nationality, Kultur, in this restricted sense, can claim a place beside civilization. All nations belonging to our Western civilization are profoundly differentiated by the peculiar character and genius of their intellectual life. Each of them has its own degree of culture, its own ways of thinking, its own capacities, its own mental proclivities, its own intellectual structure and equipment. Each nation has its own language more or less cultivated and able to serve not only as a means of communication for the purposes of daily life but as a vehicle of scientific thought and modern knowledge; each nation has its own literature, art, education, history, etc., its own spiritual capital; in short, each nation has its own mental individuality, its own characteristic intellectual life.

Kultur, in its restricted sense, means this characteristic intellectual life of a nation as a whole.

Whether Kultur in this sense is the true basis of nationality—as the Germans think it is—may be questioned; but it is undeniably true that it is one of the most important elements of national life.

In this limited sense, Kultur and civilization, as aforesaid, differ only in their extension and content.

The term "Kultur" was used in this sense not only by Germans, but also by the French who frequently speak of the "culture française." In Flanders also the Flemish movement is striving for a Flemish "kultuur." In England, Carlyle and Matthew Arnold, to mention only two, used the word "culture" with precisely the same meaning.

* *

In the succeeding chapters, German Kultur is taken in the first sense.

The second meaning, which is "the portion of truth," has only been developed for the following reason.

If we fail to take due cognizance of this twofold interpretation of the Kultur-idea, the one involving that political basis, which we have shown to be erroneous; the other, that purely national basis, which, according to our contention, contains the portion of truth, we can never hope to understand the wonderful phenomenon of German unity. Representing at one and the same time, according to the point of view, two clear and distinct conceptions, Kultur is able to command the simultaneous allegiance and support of the whole German nation. Herein is it that there lies the secret which can account for the spectacle of an entire people standing united in the defence of that Kultur-ideal which in both views represents "the soul of

Germany" ; and herein is it that there lies the explanation of the fact that German national education was knit together and inspired by Kultur. " *Magna est veritas et prevalebit* " : the power of truth is so great, that half-truths are more dangerous than errors.

III

GERMAN EDUCATION

WE could find no clearer proof of the statement that Kultur is the real soul of Germany, the organic idea that has underlain the development of the German Empire, than by glancing at German education. As a matter of fact, on the other hand, once the idea of Kultur has been grasped one has only to draw the educational inferences and successively the real fundamental principles underlying German education become apparent. That both are very intimately connected is most clearly shown by the fact that in the same "Discourses" Fichte came forward not only for Kultur, but also for education.

Let us look again at the meaning of Kultur.

The key to the German national character, the German nationality is not to be sought in the physical environment of the German people, in the country it inhabits, or again in the anatomical or physiological constitution of the German type. That character resides not in the blood, but it is rooted in the "spiritual achievements and creations" of the German nation. It is rooted in those traditional goods which their forefathers have

transmitted, namely, in the German language and literature, in their works of art, in their history, in every manifestation of their collective life. In one word, it is rooted in their Kultur.

It at once appears that education must be the life-blood of Kultur and the rejuvenating principle at work in the German nation. If a German in order to become a thorough German has to acquire a knowledge of the elements of Kultur, then for the German nation education must be the "conditio sine qua non," the very pulsation of German life.

Here, then, we have already the central idea of German education which can be formulated as follows: Kultur is the heart of the German nation; education is the life-blood of Kultur.

* * *

The prime fundamental of German education, therefore, is that it is based on a national principle.

It would be difficult to exaggerate the far-reaching consequences of this character. Just as the birth of nationalities caused an organic change in the political organization of Europe, so the introduction of this national principle effected a radical alteration of the whole fabric of education. This national conception of education revolutionized the meaning of education itself, the meaning of the school, of the branches of learning; it altered the position of the teacher and professor, the meaning of the student and of the educated man; it brought

new motives to learning and a new importance to the theory of education.

* * *

First of all it revolutionized the significance of education. Apart from the religious conception of education, nothing is higher than its national meaning. All individualistic conceptions are at bottom utilitarian and mean ; but, raised to the national standpoint, they are brought again into the light of sound idealism. The Germans saw before them their Kultur as a glorious achievement raised up by their forefathers during centuries of unceasing toil. By means of his education the young German gained access to this splendid achievement, and, after a few years of ordinary effort, came to enjoy the fruit of the work of generations. Left without this education and Kultur, he would have had to build by himself all over again or remain on a level with the savages. Kultur is the great capital of the German nation ; by education it is bequeathed as a legacy from generation to generation to redeem and provide for the children of the future. Education is that wonderful agency which renders it possible to preserve during long centuries, despite the coming and going, the birth and the death of individuals, the continuity of the national Kultur.

This conception of education throws considerable light on a series of facts of capital importance. Convinced as they were of its truth, the Germans

were led to an intense belief in the power of education which in some cases rose into educational fanaticism. Owing to this same conviction, it also became quite inevitable that very early, earlier in fact than any other nation in Europe, Germany should come forward as the uncompromising champion of compulsory education. Moreover, the view of education as part of a whole, as a vital organ of the nation, made the Germans, more than any other people, care for educational theory.

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Secondly, this national conception revolutionized the meaning of the school. From the individual point of view, the school exists merely because it is impossible to provide each pupil with a private teacher. From the national point of view of education, the schools are seen for the first time as a vital system, as an indispensable organ in the body national. For Germany is an organism like the human body. Just as the seat of life in the human body is the heart which by its ceaseless beating sends the life-blood to the different organs and innumerable cells of the body, so in the same way Kultur is the heart of the German organism; the seat of its life, the organ causing the national blood to flow in unresting movement to all the various institutions and many-million individuals of the German nation. The schools then are like arteries through which the national blood is stream-

ing. They form the circulatory system by which the whole organism is kept alive.

Viewed from this point therefore the schools of a nation together form a real organic system with a specific function to perform in the national life: they are the conservatoria of the life-blood of the nation, the great channels through which the traditional capital is transmitted from the past to the future.

To support by concrete instances this view of the supreme rôle played by schools in Germany, we need only recall that the latter's regeneration began with the inauguration of the Berlin University in 1810. This event did not mean a mere addition to the existing educational institutions. It had above all a deep national and political significance. Again, the saying that the war of 1870 was won by the elementary school and the opinion expressed to-day that, in the present war, the German strength lies greatly in its University-laboratories as being the cradles of new technical inventions, though subject to exaggeration, may yet contain a good deal of truth.

* * *

Thirdly, this national conception changes both the aspect and the hierarchy of the branches of learning. Being really the constituents of *Kultur*, branches of learning are not only means of individual development, materials of culture and learning; they also possess a real intrinsic value of their own inasmuch as they are objectivations of

the national mind, manifestations of the real soul of the nation. From this point of view, the branches of learning are spiritual goods, which, unlike those of the material order, not only do not decrease with distribution, but actually increase in quantity and value by how much the more they are spread and appropriated. Every branch acquires in a certain way something of the value we are accustomed to ascribe to religious doctrine ; it becomes a treasure to be acquired, stored and transmitted for its own sake. In fact these national branches of learning claim and receive first place in the curricula : they are the nuclei around which all the other branches of study crystallize. The German language is not only the mother-tongue ; it is also the mother of languages, the first and fundamental linguistic study. Again, German national history is studied first, for the simple reason that it is regarded as the best stepping-stone to the past of mankind.

* * *

Fourthly, by reason of the national conception, the status both of the teacher and professor undergoes a remarkable change. From the individualistic point of view, teaching is only the work of an artisan, an occupation, a calling that yields a livelihood. On the other hand, the national conception of education seals it as a high vocation, as a glorious patriotic mission. By it, teachers and professors become the spiritual fathers of the young generation, the conservators, administrators, and

distributors of the great spiritual capital of the nation.

That the rôle of teachers and professors is by no means restricted to the educational stage, can be shown by a glance at the facts of history. We have but to recall that at the national Congresses which preceded the Unification of Germany (1846, 1848, etc.), the great majority of the members were men of the teaching profession. In this same connection, the part played by the elementary teacher in the war of 1870 and the protest of the University Professors in 1914 deserve to be recorded.

* * *

Fifthly, under the new conception pupils and students were viewed in a different light. Pupils and students are not simply little men awaiting development and looking forward to a career ; they are not merely the customers of the school, the disciples of the teacher, the children of the families, the offspring of a social class. First and foremost they are the heirs of the national capital, the inheritors of the past, the future members of the nation coming to the great fountain of *Kultur* in order that mentally they may be born again and ascend from their poor natural state of mind to the lofty place of development achieved with infinite labour by their forefathers.

As illustrative of this, the national influence of the "*Burschenschaften*" (student-associations) is worthy of notice.

* * *

Again, the educated man hereby acquires a new significance. From the individualistic point of view he is one whose faculties are harmoniously developed. This formal aspect of culture is now overshadowed by the material aspect. For from the national view-point the educated man is nothing more than a shareholder of the capital of Kultur inasmuch as each constituent part of his mental equipment is borrowed from Kultur. Therefore, the man of culture is first and last a debtor to his nation. In the words of Fichte, "he belongs to the nation which gave him birth, educated him and made him what he is." Henceforth his duty will be to show his lifelong gratitude by being an active member of the Kultur-community, by making himself a worthy champion and zealous promoter of Kultur (Kultur-Traeger). From these considerations it is clear that German education is patriotic or public-spirited not in one particular branch or by any special method but in its very nature. The man of culture is first of all a German because by his education he becomes in the first instance the heir and propagator of Kultur, which is the soul of Germany.

* * *

Moreover, this national conception of education has furnished new motives for learning. Individualism makes its appeal to the mere instinct and desire for personal development, usefulness, and perfection. The national conception on the other hand arouses interest in branches of learning for

their own sake and urges to study as to a great patriotic duty. The spirit of this motive is clearly set out in the beautiful words of Schiller :

“ Was du ererbt von deinen Vätern hast,
Erwirb es um es zu besitzen.”

“ *What you have inherited from your fathers,
Acquire it that you may possess it.*”

* * *

The large hold which this national conception had on Germany was mainly responsible for the fact that she became a great nursing-home of educational theory. There can be no science, no theory of the individual or particular. Theory deals only with the general, the mass. Through considering education as an organic system in their national life, the Germans came to keep constantly in view the whole field of education, its general scope, its entire range of school-system and the need of dovetailing the school into all other social and political institutions. To their mind, education was the Fountain of Youth of their national vitality, the magic enabling the nation, phoenix-like, to rise continually from its ashes, the mighty hammer welding it into unity; the perpetuator of its past, the quickener of its present, the powerful leaven of its future. The whole trend of their mind impelled them to consider education not only as a practical task of the moment but as a vast and vital problem arising ever and everywhere behind the phenomena of their national life.

The significance of this national view of education

could be insisted upon to greater length but it is to be hoped that what has been set forth will suffice to make us realize the presence of this idealistic background in German education. It is here we have the "leit-motiv," the real spirit pervading the whole system. Generally speaking, however, this principle with its bearing on their system is not touched upon in the writings of German educationists. But in education—just as in matters juridical and political—the most characteristic ideas are often too indefinite, too unfixed to be systematized in books; it is in the unconscious beliefs of the people, in the unwritten code of race-ingrained convictions and ideas that we must look for the working, the organic, the essential motives of every sphere of moral life.

* * *

Education is above all else intellectual culture. This is the second characteristic of the German view of education.

This second mark—no less than the first—is the logical outcome of the idea of Kultur. We repeat that Kultur means the achievements and creations of the German mind—its language, literature, art, science, history, etc.; consequently, German education, which is the handmaid of Kultur, is primarily the process of transmitting a certain "mental capital," a handing-down of knowledge, of learning, of science; in short, German education is in the first place a process of intellectual adjustment.

As a matter of fact the German idea of a man of culture gives a clear clue to this second character of their education. The German ideal is the *savant* (der Gelehrte), the man of learning, the man of erudition, the scientist. To make a *savant*, a scientist, is the true aim of German university education. To be a *savant*, a scientist, is the essential qualification of a university professor. His success as a scientist is regarded as the best gauge and guarantee of his professional influence. Culture, in the eyes of Germans, means before all else learning, erudition, knowledge, mental equipment, insight, science ; and it is acquired by study, by intellectual activity, by scientific training.

From what has been said it is easy to understand why the Germans have attached such importance to their schools and especially to their universities. Intellectual training has so monopolized their attention, that schools and universities are held to be not merely the chief but the sole channels of education. The schoolroom, the lecture-hall, the laboratory, the study-room, the library are the institutional factors of the educational process. The main educator is the teacher whose educational influence depends, in direct ratio, on his own intellectual equipment and craftsmanship in teaching.

German theories of education, however, may seem to strike a note of contradiction to this view. Indeed, every educational treatise makes the distinction between “ *Bildung* und *Erziehung* ”

(culture and education), and a considerable number of well-known German educationists have even laid down the view that "Bildung" (culture) rests ultimately on a moral basis.

In spite of theoretic distinctions, it nevertheless remains a fact that the views of those writers and educationists have finally prevailed and materialised, who considered the imparting of "intellectual culture" as the exclusive task of the school and "scientific training and research" as the exclusive function of the university. Moreover their own criticism of the too intellectualistic character of their schools has been outspoken enough in the last few years to show that in practice those theoretical distinctions had been disregarded.

A further proof of their one-sided intellectualistic view of education can be gleaned from their conception of pedagogy. Pedagogy is still too often considered as synonymous with methodology, and this synonymy emanated originally from Germany. With them, "Principles of Education" are above all "Principles of Teaching" or methodology of the different branches of learning. Thus, the whole of education is perpetually narrowed down to intellectual training, to the art of teaching and learning, and to the sphere of the schoolroom.

It is this second character of German education which leaves the most enduring mark on the German mind. It is hence the German derives enthusiasm for theory, for science, for ideas; his respect for the scientist; his love for completeness

and thoroughness ; his ardour, patience and method in all spheres of activity ; his insatiable hunger for knowledge and learning. Hence finally and above all is to be traced the remarkable efficiency of the nation as a whole : the German school and University may have many grave defects, but, in matters intellectual, they have made their country the leading nation of the world.

* * *

The third fundamental feature of German education can be stated in the following aphorism : *Education to the State ; education for the State ; education by the State.*

Here again education follows immediately on the heels of Kultur. The State being the embodiment of Germanism, the owner of Kultur, it follows that education, which is but the lifeblood of Kultur, must belong absolutely "to the State."

With regard to the second point, viz. "education for the State," the dominant aim of education must be to make Germans, true conservators and promoters of Kultur, serviceable members and defenders of the State.

Lastly, as regards "education by the State." The strength of Kultur resides in its unity ; it is and must be the same for all Germans. To conserve and to guarantee this unity of Kultur is the task of the State. The only way to fulfil this task is to assure the unity of the education of all Germans, to organize their education on a uniform basis and

to centralize it in one institution, which can be no other than the State. Therefore it is that education must be organized "by the State."

The organization of German education has been very remarkable. One of its most characteristic creations is the "*Volksschule*." In contradistinction to what happened elsewhere, in Germany this type of school arose neither under the influence of democratic tendencies nor under the pressure of industrial or economic needs. The German "*Volksschule*" is essentially an outgrowth of the Kultur-idea, a direct result of the national principle. The "*Volksschule*" is not merely the school for the bulk of the people, the "elementary or primary" school; it is in the first instance the "national" school, the common cradle, so to speak, in which the whole rising generation of Germany is tended, the gymnasium wherein the children of every social grade are trained in the elements of Germanism, the propylæa leading the youth of the Fatherland into the temple of Kultur. It is thus clear that in reality the "*Volksschule*" was simply a logical necessity following from the very idea of national unity and Kultur.

Nor did the University in any way escape the influence of these same ideas. The "*Volksschule*" had to conserve and to spread Kultur; the University had to be as well the organ of its enrichment, for Kultur must not only pass from generation to generation as a sacred heirloom, it must also be extended and enriched. According to the

German view, the University has not only to teach, to transmit learning, it has to develop science, to investigate ; the University is not only a school, it is an institute for scientific training and research.

Unity was not only realized in particular types of schools, but all educational institutions were considered and made parts of an organic whole. The Germans were the first to carry into effect the idea of a real school *system*. As explained above, the idea originated in their conception of education as transmission of *Kultur*. It is mainly due to the fact that their school system caters for the needs of the entire nation, that the Germans, more than any other nation, have made the most of the average intellect and that, in the University, scientists are not only trained, but they are trained in sufficient numbers to supply the country's needs.

The Germans, however, were not content simply to realize the idea of the school system. They went a step further and centralized the whole educational machinery in the hands of the State, in the hands of a Minister. It is generally and justly felt that centralization carries with it many real and serious disadvantages. However, the work of Statesmen and Ministers of Education like von Stein, von Humboldt and others who brought the German system to such a high degree of efficiency must be a warning that complete liberty of action is not the only way to success and that unity and centralization are far from doomed to failure.

This chapter cannot be closed without its being emphasized that the German view of education is of a piece with its general view of life. The case of Germany provides a powerful object-lesson of the close connection there can be between a philosophy of life and a philosophy of education.

The German philosophy of life (*Lebensanschauung*), expressed in the Kultur-idea, considers the nation as the determining factor of life, intellect as the driving power of the individual, the State as the end of all organization. Each of these three principles of their philosophy of life has its counterpart in their view of education: for the nation is the mainspring of all education, intellectual education its chief concern and the State its supreme end in view.

Nationalism, intellectualism, politicism or militarism are the three fundamental principles of German life and of German education.

IV

THE SOUL OF ENGLAND

THE case of Germany has shown that the conception of education is really the product of the whole life of a nation, that it grows and develops with its spirit, is influenced by its social and political organization and is affected by its various crises. Such being the case, education may be considered as a characteristic outgrowth of the soul of a nation.

With regard to Germany, we have discovered Kultur to be the organic idea leavening and giving direction and force to the whole of its education.

In passing to England, the first problem confronting us is to find out whether there be a corresponding organic idea underlying English life, which has in the same way moulded and profoundly affected its education. Consequently the problem that arises is : What is the soul of England ?

If Kultur is the soul of Germany, Civilization is the soul of England. There we stand at the parting of the ways. The two are essentially antagonistic, so that, if the present war is really at bottom a war between Kultur and Civilization, it is equally true that it is in the first instance a war between Germany

and England. Let us mark again the antagonism between the two.

Kultur, as we have seen, is rooted in and bounded by the nation ; civilization embraces humanity.

Kultur is above all based on intellectual development ; civilization rests mainly upon moral culture.

Kultur ministers only to the State, which is above all other institutions ; civilization, on the other hand, respects the hierarchy of the social institutions : family, society, nation, State, Church.

Kultur implies that the individual gets his value from the nation and from the State ; on the other hand, civilization implies that the individual stands by himself, has absolute value.

Let us look now for a few facts which may be considered as the true expression of the soul of England.

* * *

In the first place let us examine the colonial policy of England. Nothing shows the character of an individual more than his attitude towards his neighbour, and especially if his neighbour is weak ; in the same way, nothing reveals better the soul of a nation than its attitude towards other nations, especially towards small nations, and more particularly still towards the lower races. Now it is precisely here that we find the crudest antagonism between the German and the English character.

German colonization has ever been inspired by the national point of view ; it has been a military

conquest, a gain for the nation, an extension of the German State, a settling-place for German Kultur.

English colonization has been in the last instance a gain for Civilization, a gain for humanity. Wherever the English landed they heralded the dawn of civilization ; their rule was based on the respect of the spirit, language, religion, custom, and traditions of the subject people ; their activities were continually directed to the gradual awakening of all the powers of the race, which they aimed at making independent and self-governing. If it had fallen to the destiny of England to enter Poland or Alsace, their first care would have been to erect a national museum, to encourage the use and spread of the Polish language and literature, to grant national independence. In short, the English have recognized in the other races and nations the children of mankind ; they have seen not only their rights, but also their duties ; in the lower races they have respected their common humanity and have educated and trained them with the view of adopting them into the great family of civilization.

In the second place, let us glance briefly at their trade-policy. While Fichte was writing "Der geschlossene Handelsstaat" (The closed Trade-State), while German Professors of Economics were forming their "Systems of National Economics," while the German States were developing the "Zoll-Verein" (Customs-Union) and urging all means of Protectionism, England was and remained the land of Free-Trade. She puts herself on equal

terms with the other nations of the world ; she admits the right of others to compete with her, because she holds that out of such a competition on equal terms between all the nations, mankind will profit. "The greatest benefit of the greatest number" has been the leading principle of the English economical system.

In the third place, a glimpse at the social and political life is not less helpful to our purpose. Germany is based on the omnipotence of the State, on the primacy of the nation ; Germany believed that the growth, the power and the strength of the whole was paramount and she acted accordingly, with the consequence that her whole structure is the result of a process of centralization which has ended in the individual being completely subordinated and sacrificed to the State.

Yet quite the contrary has been the case in England. "Individual freedom" was and is the fundamental principle of her social and political life. All social and political institutions, from the State to the Trade Unions, are only means to protect and to develop personal independence. Personal freedom has been the basic idea of the constitutional and democratic movement, which, it must be observed, began and has since been gradually developed in the English nation.

Decentralization was the necessary principle of constitutional monarchy, of representative government ; it is the soul of Liberalism and is at present the leading idea of the social movement. Nowhere

has State-intervention been mistrusted as in England ; "the less government, the better," is an English political axiom ; public opinion has grown up here to be a ruling factor as in no other country in Europe. "Self-help," "variety preferable to unity," "laisser faire, laisser aller," "the greatest happiness of the greatest number" have been the constructive principles of English social and political organization.

Another important contrast between England and German political life is based on the fact that, under the influence of their Kultur-idea, the Germans came to divorce politics from morals. The political atmosphere of the whole of Europe has not been cleared of the miasms of this unwholesome principle ; but in England the principle has never found a defender. Gladstone was not speaking in his own name or in that of his party but in the name of the whole English world when he said that "what is morally wrong cannot be politically right."

* * *

Nothing is more striking than the different type of mind manifested in the intellectual life of Germany and England.

Germany is above all the product of the German idealistic movement of the beginning of last century. It is in this idealistic philosophy that there is rooted that Kultur-idea which is the soul of Germany. But it is not only their national ideal,

but the peculiar and essential turn of the German mind which must be studied in this movement, for it is in the German idealistic philosophy that the "nation of thinkers and poets" had their schooling. There they acquired and developed their passion for ideas and for theories; there they cultivated their speculative faculties, their love for pure thought, pure knowledge, pure theory.

This idealistic turn of mind has to a very large extent directed the modern scientific movement in Germany. Speculation and thought had aroused love of truth for its own sake and very soon the passion for pure thought became a passion for pure knowledge and science. Philosophical culture was the preparatory school of their scientific training. This idealistic aspect, together with the *Kultur-idea*, are the two peculiar features of the scientific movement on Germany.

This penchant for idealism constitutes the strength of the German intellect. Its effects have been very remarkable, for there have resulted from it new conceptions of traditional fields of knowledge, discovery of new departments, systematizations of vast provinces of knowledge, methodology of scientific investigation, organization of collective research, order, thoroughness and completeness in every particular sector of scientific enquiry. Unfortunately its dangers were numerous and not always avoided: the love of the idea led to hasty generalizations; methodological principles became stereotyped; thoroughness and completeness de-

generated into a craze for amassing data and facts ; the multiplying of new aspects and view-points ended in over-specialization ; the facts, the concrete, the living whole, the organic unity, the personal failed to be grasped ; in short, there was too much belief in theory, in methods, in science ; too much confidence in the scientist, too much reliance on books. German science smelled too much of the study-room and the laboratory ; the scientist stood at too great a distance from real life ; systematization became too abstract, too bookish, too pedantic.

These defects are even apparent in their most epoch-making works. What Mr. Emile Boutroux thinks of Zeller's "Philosophie der Griechen," applies to a number of other highly reputed publications. "When, in 1877," writes Mr. Boutroux, "I was engaged on the French translation of Zeller's 'History of Greek Philosophy,' I attempted to show that man was left out of account in that profound and learned study, one of the most original manifestations of human genius ; that the theories of Socrates, Plato or Aristotle, were gradually stripped of all they contained which was personal and living, and were reduced to abstract formulæ, subordinate to an immanent and necessary dialectic. Ever since that date, my impression of German science has become increasingly confirmed."¹

Intellectual life in England is at opposite poles with that of Germany. "The real and true goal of the sciences is nothing else than the enrichment of

¹ "German Science : Philosophy and War," p. 2.

human life by the introduction of new inventions and resources." These words of Bacon express the national attitude towards science and knowledge. Knowledge is power ; in the last analysis, science is made for man. The Englishman is first and foremost a practical man ; he has a passion for utility, a practical bent of mind. The enrichment of human life is the goal of knowledge ; experience of life is its source and starting-point. England is the mother-land of realism, of empiricism, of positivism. The English mind has a supreme eye for facts, a strong sense of reality, an uncommon gift of common sense. Truth, knowledge, science are constantly kept in close touch with human existence and its development. Scientific enquiry and the pursuit of knowledge have not so much for their object the study of things in themselves, but rather, how things have relation and reference to human life, which is regarded as the criterion of their work. It is the "working" truth that is the real truth ; utility becomes the test and touchstone of truth. Thus, the Englishman is at the bottom of him a pragmatist, a humanist.

The negative qualities of the English mind, too, deserve no less attention. The English intellect is distrustful of ideas, sceptical of theories and apathetic towards pure science and pure knowledge ; it has a natural aversion for all speculative and metaphysical thought. It is really no work of chance that agnosticism was born in England. Transcendental idealism, monism, pantheism, and

mysticism have flourished in Germany ; they have never been able to lay hold on the English mind. Public life in Germany is deeply concerned with problems of what they call : “ *Welt- und Lebensanschauung* ” (Philosophy of the Universe and of Life). In England political parties and even religious denominations are the institutional expression of different attitudes towards questions of immediate practical concern.

The practical bent of the English intellect is especially apparent in its favourite scientific activity. As far as philosophy is concerned, England has displayed considerable interest and activity in the branches which Aristotle includes in “ practical philosophy,” viz. economics, politics, ethics, to which may be added the science of logic. In these departments it has given its most valuable contribution to European thought. As regards other provinces of knowledge, its sense of reality and its preference for facts fitted it to excel especially in the “ natural sciences.” There again it was in those sciences which offered a practical aspect that her efforts were most fruitful ; to wit, nature and its mastery : physics and mechanics ; life and its preservation : biology and medicine.

From this brief survey it may be gathered that, according to the English traditional view, intellectual development is only of secondary importance in man. Science is not its own end ; knowledge requires action for its completion ; ideas are valid if they help ; theories are true if they work ; truth

itself is real, if tested and verified by practice. Man's integral nature, real human life, vital human interest are the end and the touchstone of philosophical speculation and scientific research. Therefore, if Germany is the land of intellectualism, England may be called the land of pragmatism or humanism.

On account of its speculative genius and its idealistic bent of mind, Victor Hugo called Germany "the India of the West." With equal aptness England may be styled the Modern Rome. Like Rome she is a World-Empire, and her language is a world-tongue ; like Rome she has not spoken to the world through the medium of a high philosophy, but through her poetical and optimistic literature, through her wisdom in politics, in law, in ethics ; like Rome also, England has developed her own ideal of the whole man, her own "humanitas."

* * *

The meaning and the content of this English "humanitas" will reveal itself by a comparison of the ideals which have leavened moral life in England and Germany.

It has been stated that there was a strong idealistic movement behind the intellectual life of Germany. Besides this so-called "transcendental" idealism of thinkers and scientists, there was an æsthetic idealism, which has considerably moved the world of artists, poets, and writers. Last, but not least, there was the national idealism, culminat-

ing in the Kultur-idea, which pervaded all social classes and was the great motive-force of national activity. One common feature of all these forms of idealism influencing German life is, that they have each an intellectual origin: they are the ideas of philosophers, constructions of the mind, ideals of Universities and schools descending from the realms of speculation into the life of the people. A second common feature is their one-sidedness; the first aims at making philosophers and scientists; the second at making artists; the third at making Germans. None of them aims at the improvement of the whole man; none of them is really appealing to the deeper instincts of the individual soul. Philosophy, science, art, nation, and State constitute powerful motives and brilliant ends of activity, but they are incapable of drawing out the whole man.

In this respect, England presents a clear contrast with Germany. On the one hand, pragmatism has been for England a stumbling-stone on the road to speculative idealism, which proved to be so fecund for German intellectual activity, but yet, on the other hand, it has preserved England from the excesses of intellectualism and saved for her her own traditional ethical idealism. Despite his pragmatism in philosophy, despite his realistic and positivistic turn of mind, the Englishman has never lost his ethical idealism of practical life. The integral nature of man has never escaped him, nor that traditional scale of ethical values, which puts

the heart above the intellect, conscience above science, conduct above art, character above thought, man above nation and State, and the human soul above all the goods of the world. This ethical idealism did not originate in the mind of philosophers, it is no fabric erected by the intellect, but it has been bred and born and nurtured during centuries in the heart of the English people under the influence of the Christian idea. For the Bible has been the great classic of England ; to the Bible every one of her great men has acknowledged his indebtedness ; in the Bible lie the roots of the principles of the English philosophy of life and there also the source of English ethical idealism is to be found.

* * *

The Christian idea is so wonderfully fecund and flexible that it has permitted of different adjustments to the temperament and spirit, to the ethos and traditions of the various nations. Some nations have been especially attracted by the plasticity of Christianity as regards corporate life ; others have developed its speculative, others its æsthetic or juridical motives. Under the influence of different factors, the English have more than aught else worked out the ethical aspect of Christianity. The two Bible-ideas which have influenced its ethical view most, were, on the one hand, the message of "personal freedom," and, on the other, the proclamation of the "brotherhood of mankind." These

two ideas, if not the seminal ideas, have been at least the guiding principles of their ethical idealism.

This Christian influence is evidenced by the remarkable fact that this people, which like no other is individualistic by temperament and tradition and has proclaimed the "laisser faire, laissez aller" principle in other fields, has never in ethics at any rate yielded to that self-centred type of individualism which preaches the gospel of "living-out-one's life" and advocates the maxim "Become what you tend to become" (Nietzsche's *Auslebung*-theory, "werde wer du bist").

The immunity from such tendencies was due to the fact that their idea of individual, "personality" and "freedom," in short, their whole ethical tradition, grew and ripened in the Christian atmosphere. It was owing to this that they never lost sight of the dualism of the individual, based on those two forces "the flesh and the spirit," those "two laws," which are in their essence antagonistic. In the individual soul good and evil have their source ; the soul is the seat both of selflessness and selfishness and therefore in it live the moral aversion and the moral ideal. Thus, the elements of struggle and conflict reside in the very nature of the individual ; only by interior struggle can the fundamental dualism be overcome, unity be set up and every ethical value be acquired. Personality, freedom, character, manhood are not the gifts of nature ; they are not social, national or political in origin ; they are essentially the result of moral

conquest which every individual can achieve by overcoming his own nature ; in short, they are rooted in virtue. "Love virtue," says Milton, "she alone is free."

This Christian view of personality is the cornerstone of English ethical idealism. It is founded not upon the intellect, upon speculation ; it is anchored in the very depths of Christianity. English ethical terminology is here very illuminating. Their view that morality is centred in personality can be gathered from the fact that, in English, the traditional ethical terminology has, so to speak, been individualized. As the "self" is the centre of gravity of the moral life, so every technical term gravitates towards the prefix "self." Thus the very words express the centralness and predominance of personality. Moreover, by this concrete personal character, each term becomes strikingly suggestive and illuminative of the idea it involves ; the notion of dualism, of struggle is exhibited and impressed by the doubleness of the term. In this respect, English terminology was a powerful aid in the moral instruction of the people ; one could even say that it was a moral power in itself, for each term constitutes an "idea-force," each term possesses dynamic power, each appeals strongly to the deeper instincts of the human soul. No wonder that terms like "self-respect, self-activity, self-control, self-government, self-culture, self-help, self-discipline, self-knowledge, etc," have been so largely adopted on the Continent, especially

in these last years of increased interest in ethical matters.

The realization of this English ideal of personality, based on struggle and ending in interior freedom, implied a series of indispensable virtues ; to wit : dutifulness, courage, honour, consistency, which are the springs and the organs of character.

Let us now briefly examine the influence of the second Christian principle : the idea of the "brotherhood of mankind." It is obvious that this idea has also helped largely to set the English mind against all self-centred individualism, for the practice of brotherly love due to our neighbour severs the nerve of self-assertive and egoistic individualism. In this respect this second idea favoured the growth of personality. On the other hand, personality itself could not be developed without leading naturally to the idea of the brotherhood of mankind. Indeed, the interior struggle against selfishness opened at one and at the same moment the road, not only to the realization of the human ideal, but to the love of the whole of mankind. To become a man, one is indirectly bound to become a lover of men.

Although the influence of this second Christian idea was but indirect, yet it contributed also an integral element to the ideal of man. In itself, personality, with the virtues it implies, is too centripetal, it must develop as well a centrifugal tendency ; in itself it is too exclusively based on

the powers of the head and of the will, it must incorporate into its complex the virtues of the heart ; it efficiency must be developed outwards to social efficiency. This completing and perfecting process directly owed its initial impulse to the idea of the brotherhood of mankind. Under the influence of this idea a further series of virtues became paramount, viz. humanity, gentleness, honesty, self-sacrifice, self-denial, chivalry, charity.

This is the English conception of " *humanitas*," the soul of its ethical idealism. Its identification with the general tenour of Christianity may have been the result of a different process of evolution to the one we have outlined ; at any rate, it ripened in the Christian atmosphere. This ideal of man, based on " personal freedom," inspires the moral code of England ; it inspires everything that appeals to the English sentiment from the " fair play " in sport to the tolerance in religion, from respect for woman to the love of children, from commercial integrity to honesty in private life, from the simplest act of kindness to social manners ; it is the germinal idea of those numberless humanitarian institutions, the nerve of their love of home and of their loyalty to their country ; it supplied the driving power for their social and political evolution, it was the leading motive of their trade-policy and the background of their intellectual life. " The great product of England," said Bishop Creighton in his Romanes lecture in 1896, " is not so much its institutions, its empire, its commerce, or

its literature as is the individual Englishman who is moulded by all these influences and is the ultimate test of their value."

The ideal of the Englishman centres in this ethical idealism ; herein therefore lies that great " moral capital " which is the soul of England.

Moreover, the influence of the ideal was not confined to the English boundaries. Just as the mother-country owes its development and greatness to the moral character of its individual children, in the same way the British Empire is indebted for its formation to the moral character of its administrators. Says Mr. Benjamin Kidd : " Those who incline to attribute the very wide influence of the English-speaking peoples have come to exercise in the world to the Machiavellian schemes of their rulers are often very wide of the truth. This influence is, to a large extent, due to qualities not at all of a showy character. It is, for instance, a fact of more than superficial significance, that in the South American Republics, where the British peoples move amongst a mixed crowd of many nationalities, the quality which has come to be accepted as distinctive of them is simply ' the word of an Englishman.' In like manner it is qualities such as humanity, strength, and uprightness of character, and devotion to the immediate calls of duty without thought of brilliant ends and ideal results, which have largely contributed to render English rule in India successful. It is to the exercise of qualities of this class that we must also

chiefly attribute the success which has so far attended the political experiment of extraordinary difficulty which England has undertaken in Egypt."¹

Throughout his works, the author just quoted has successfully defended the view that the ethical movement originated in Christianity is the foundation of our Western Civilization. If so, then this ethical idealism is not only the soul of England and the British Empire, but also the soul of our Civilization.

* * *

This chapter can be summarized in the following simile. A nation is like a tree which draws nourishment from the breast of the earth wherein its roots lie spread, yet at the same time feeds on the air and on the warmth and light of heaven towards which its crown expands. If these two food-sources come to be cut off, the life of the tree is doomed, no matter how imposing be the girth of its trunk or the beauty of its foliage or the abundance of its fruits. A nation in like manner draws life from the past of humanity whence its tradition is derived, yet at the same time can only really thrive when it sustains itself also on higher ideals, on right and justice and liberty, for and towards which the human soul is ever longing and striving. Let one of these arteries of sustenance be severed and the life of the nation is doomed, however imposing be the

¹ "Social Evolution," p. 325.

strength of its State, or the brilliancy of its intellectual life, or the wealth of its national inheritance.

The truth embodied in the above simile has been a great guiding influence in the evolution of the English nation. England has moved between the two real poles, those only two great sources of life—personality, on the one hand, which is the mainspring of moral life ; on the other, mankind, which is the “ *leitmotiv* ” of all true civilization. The gulf between these two poles has been bridged, these two sources have been linked up by her human ideal ; this ideal, indeed, is at once the essence of the individual and the principle of the oneness and brotherhood of mankind. In the eyes of England all such intermediate institutions as the family, society, nation, State and Church are but means to realize the human ideal. Consequently the life of the individual soul is supreme ; her human ideal keeps her in touch with mankind ; her rights are the architectonic principles of the social edifice, and all social and political action is inspired by the maxim that the soul of all improvement is the improvement of the individual soul.

Germany has developed on quite opposite principles. For *Kultur* makes the nation and the State supreme ; they absorb the individual soul and exclude mankind from their view of life ; thus has Germany isolated herself from the two vital sources of morality and civilization. *Kultur* sacrifices the independence of the soul to the unity of the nation ; moral character to intellectual

capacity ; personal ideals to the interests of the State. National egoism and Statolatry are the results of this artificial organization. Germany has been living on the reserves of morality and humanity still stored up in the ancient traditions of her race : but her final exhaustion and consequent national doom are sure to come unless one day the natural impulse and impetus of life sweep away this artificial and mechanical organization of *Kultur*, and by restoring the rights of the individual soul and recognizing the claims of mankind burst wide once more the twin flood-gates of morality and civilization.

V

ENGLISH EDUCATION

AS civilization or humanism is the real soul of England, so is the making of "men" the aim and business of its education. The Germans base the need for education on the national principle: they require education in order to make Germans; *English education is founded on the human principle: they want it in order to make "men."*

This human conception of education is the organic idea behind the whole of that educational system which in the course of centuries has grown up within the British Isles. In order to grasp at once the spirit and the meaning of this conception, let us start with its ideal.

The outstanding ideal of English education is the "gentleman." This educational ideal is English to the core. The term itself has no equivalent in any other European language, a fact which accounts for its international currency. It is in such vocables that is enshrined a portion of what a nation contributes to the common capital of mankind. The importance of this particular contribution, expressed in the term "gentleman," can be gathered from the words of Emerson: "The most conspicuous fact

of modern history is the creation of the gentleman." And this creation must be put to the credit of the English educational genius.

Cardinal Newman it was who gave to the world the now classical definition of the gentleman. In his "Idea of a University," he writes: "It is almost a definition of a gentleman to say he is one who never inflicts pain. . . . The true gentleman carefully avoids whatever may cause a jar or a jolt in the minds of those with whom he is cast;—all clashing of opinion, or collision of feeling, all restraint, or suspicion, or gloom, or resentment; his great concern being to make every one at their ease and at home. He has his eyes on all his company; he is tender towards the bashful, gentle towards the distant, and merciful towards the absurd; he can recollect to whom he is speaking; he guards against unseasonable allusions, or topics which may irritate; he is seldom prominent in conversation, and never wearisome. He makes light of favours while he does them, and seems to be receiving when he is conferring. He never speaks of himself except when compelled, never defends himself by a mere retort, he has no ears for slander or gossip, is scrupulous in imputing motives to those who interfere with him, and interprets everything for the best. He is never mean or little in his disputes, never takes unfair advantage, never mistakes personalities or sharp sayings for arguments, or insinuates evil which he dare not say out. From a long-sighted prudence, he observes the maxim of the ancient sage, that we

should ever conduct ourselves towards our enemy as if he were one day to be our friend. He has too much good sense to be affronted at insults, he is too well employed to remember injuries, and too indolent to bear malice. He is patient, forbearing, and resigned, on philosophical principles ; he submits to pain, because it is inevitable, to bereavement, because it is irreparable, and to death, because it is his destiny. If he engages in controversy of any kind, his disciplined intellect preserves him from the blundering courtesy of better, though less educated minds ; who like blunt weapons, tear and hack instead of cutting clean, who mistake the point of argument, waste their strength on trifles, misconceive their adversary, and leave the question more involved than they find it. He may be right or wrong in his opinion, but he is too clear-headed to be unjust ; he is simple as he is forcible, and as brief as he is decisive. Nowhere shall we find greater candour, consideration, indulgence : he throws himself into the minds of his opponents, he accounts for their mistakes. He knows the weakness of human reason as well as its strength, its province and its limits. If he is an unbeliever, he will be too profound and large-minded to ridicule religion or to act against it ; he is too wise to be a dogmatist or fanatic in his infidelity. He respects piety and devotion ; he even supports institutions as venerable, beautiful or useful, to which he does not assent ; he honours the ministers of religion, and he is contented to decline its mysteries without

assailing or denouncing them. He is a friend of religious toleration, and that, not only because his philosophy has taught him to look on all forms of faith with an impartial eye, but also from the gentleness and effeminacy of feeling which is the attendant on civilisation. . . .”

For the sake of emphasis and comparison Emerson’s definition of a gentleman is also worth quoting. “The gentleman,” he says, “is a man of truth, lord of his own actions and expressing that lordship in his behaviour, not in any manner dependent and servile either on persons, or opinions, or possessions. Beyond this fact of truth and real force, the word denotes good-nature or benevolence: manhood first, and then gentleness.”¹

In any definition, the gentleman is the product of the harmonious development of physical, intellectual, and moral powers or faculties; but always, —and this is all-important—the stress is laid on the moral character, on the culture of will and heart as the fundamental aspect. The gentleman is fair, large-minded, independent, clear-headed, self-reliant; but he is first of all a man who thinks of himself the least and the last.

Starting from this ideal of the gentleman and laying special emphasis on the moral character, English education was in principle and has been in practice above all the training of will, training of character, in short, it has been moral education.

Here also terminology can come a little to our

¹ Emerson’s Essay on “Manners.”

aid. It is a remarkable fact that in English there is no special term in use for intellectual education as such. The term "education" stands for intellectual and moral training. All kinds of schools are "educational" institutes. The whole of the school system is supervised by a Board of "Education." On the contrary, the French distinguish "*instruction* (intellectual) *et education* (moral culture)"; so do the Germans: "*Unterricht und Erziehung*"; "*Bildung und Erziehung*"; in the same way the Dutch have: "*Opvoeding en onderwys*." On the Continent, the denomination of schools and school-boards emphasizes intellectual culture. The French speak of "*établissements d'instruction ; enseignement ; instruction publique*"; the German of "*Unterrichts,—Bildungsanstalten ; Unterrichts,—Bildungswesen*"; the Dutch of "*onderwysgestichten ; openbaar onderwys*."

The absence of a special term for intellectual training, and the sole use of "education" for the whole field of culture, points to the fact that, in England, the "making of a man" and all the institutions which that process implies, are fundamentally aiming at the training of the will and at character building. Intellectual training is of secondary importance; to be a personality, to be a gentleman, it is not knowledge and learning but will power and a large heart that are essential.

Another aspect of this English conception of education is that social life is an educational factor of the first importance. The ideal of the gentleman

did not germinate in the atmosphere of the school-room or the University, but sprang from amid the actualities of social life ; it is an ideal, the representatives of which serve on battlefields, in forums, in counting-houses, in every profession and grade of society, in every walk and sphere of life. It is not national, but human. This being so, the gentleman is but a craftsman in the art of life.

Moreover, as social life is the soil whence that ideal springs, so through the medium of social life must be fashioned its essential groundwork, which is character. Goethe, who had such a deep insight in all questions concerning education, has said :

*“Es bildet ein Talent sich in der Stille
Sich ein Charakter in dem Strom der Welt.”*

“A talent builds itself in solitude,
But a character builds itself in the stream of the world.

* * *

Thus, by considering the various aspects of this human ideal,—which must be taken as the first characteristic of English education—we are led to recognize the *second peculiar feature*, which may be expressed in the formula : *Social life is the high school of English education.*

The influence of this social principle may be compared with that of the national principle in German education. Here, too, the consequences are so far-reaching that they invest every educational factor with a new significance and introduce a new scale of values for the different parts of the whole educational machinery.

The idea of education itself undergoes a noteworthy modification. The Germans consider education as the transmission of *Kultur*, as the tradition of a capital which is essentially national and intellectual. For all practical purposes, English education is the transmission of their "moral capital," which, as we have contended, is the soul of England and at the same time the soul of our civilization. This capital does not exclude language, science, art, etc., and other elements of mere national and intellectual significance; but it includes as its very essence their human ideal, their social institutions, their social customs, habits and manners, their ethos, their forms of social intercourse, all what Goethe called "the world," in short, this capital is embedded in their social life. Consequently, in this "social life" is enshrined not only the intellectual part of the English nation, but the moral part of our civilization; thus, in its very nature, is it a "moral capital."

Education, therefore, is the transmission of this moral capital by the adult to the rising generation. It is the process by which the rising generation is incorporated in the social institutions and assimilates the social inheritance which represents the present summit of civilization. Thus education is essentially a process of socialization. "Social life" is its material, and "social life" is the process by which it is acquired.

At this point it may be interesting to mention the definition of one of the best English educationists of

the last century. "Education," said Edward Thring, "is the transmission of life by the living through the living."

* *

Thus, social life is the all-important factor in education. The question now arises : How does it exercise educational influence ? The answer is quite simple ; it exercises it by its very nature and origin. Social institutions, social ethos, manners, customs, etc., are the products of a long historical process of discipline ; they are the fruits of the long struggle of our race with the lower instincts of human nature. Family, society, State, social manners, etc., are strongholds which the experience and wisdom of our race has built to protect the human ideal against the selfish tendencies of our nature. Through discipline they were built ; and discipline is now their own function ; they are not only the soul and substance of our civilization, but also the means of civilization ; they are not only the embodiment of the human ideal, but also the medium of its realization. In fact, all our social institutions are still the basis of authority and the principal organs of discipline ; they exercise unceasingly an educative influence on every individual coming within their operation. This influence is so powerful that all systematic and conscious efforts are doomed to failure if they find no echo in the wordless teaching and unconscious training of this social school.

Consequently, our social life is not only the nerve of our unity, the link with our past, it has an important function to perform in the transmission of our civilization, in the assimilation of the rising generation to the temper and genius of the race. All social institutions, therefore, can be considered quite strictly as educational institutions.

* * *

But, however important this institutional factor is in English education, it does not in any way encroach upon its basis, which is personal freedom. On the contrary, real freedom is not only consistent with, but is acquired under the influence of social forms of life. Left to himself, the individual would run great risk of becoming self-centred, of "living out his own life"; there would be danger of his never becoming conscious of his spiritual destiny, of his higher self, which must inform and elevate his personality and make him a gentleman. The social institutions, embodying as they do the human ideal, stimulate and inspire the individual to master his egoistic instincts; they teach him the knowledge of his spiritual self, bid him to struggle for the human ideal and thus lead him to freedom. The incorporation of the individual in the social institutions puts a rein on the lower instincts; it restrains his natural individualistic tendencies in order to assure the free development of his inmost personality.

But social life has this educative power only when

it appeals to the co-operation of the individual. Social life is but a school affording powerful impulses of development ; but by the force of their own operation, social institutions cannot reach the depths and the heights of the living soul and lift it up to the human ideal. In themselves, they are but potentialities and they become actualities only when assimilated by the living soul ; social life inspires to discipline and to struggle, but only discipline and struggle which have become self-discipline and self-denial are able to build character ; social life is an institutional factor of the first importance, but only by his own efforts can each individual attain to manhood. In the last instance, education appeals to the self ; it is self-development, self-realization, self-culture ; it begins and ends in self-activity ; self-knowledge is the eye, self-respect the heart, self-control the nerve of character. This ultimate personal basis has ever been present to the English mind ; and so socialization has never been allowed to degenerate into mechanization. It was in the spirit of English education that Tennyson's words were written :¹

"Self-reverence, self-knowledge, self-control,
These three alone lead life to sovereign power."

But, having developed itself in the atmosphere and activities of social life, personality emerges itself as a foremost factor in education. Especially in moral education the living personality with the incalculable power of its example is altogether indispensable.

¹ Tennyson's "Passing of Arthur."

Thus, social life and personality are not opposed ; they complete each other ; social life helps the individual to personality, and, by living example, personality reinforces and vitalizes the educational power of social institutions. Therefore, a social institution under the rule of a powerful personality constitutes an ideal educational medium. This idea has been a leading principle of English education and the basis upon which its organization has been founded.

Before illustrating by facts this view on the educational value of social life, it is important to emphasize the predominance of the human motive in English education : both individual and civilization culminate in moral character, which is the test of manhood and the soul of civilization.

* * *

The most outstanding fact in English education is, that the family still occupies a cardinal position amongst the educational institutions. Despite the school-fanaticism which proclaimed the school the remedy for every evil, despite all the intellectualistic catchwords of the last century, England has held to the conviction that, in so far as institutions are concerned, what a man knows, what he can do and what still he possesses may to a large extent have been due to the school, but that, on the other hand, what makes a man what he really is, viz. his character, is in a very great measure the outcome of his familial education. According to the English

view, the family is the social organ by which the chief moral forces of our civilization are perpetuated and transmitted, and therefore familial life is the main current in the educational process. It is here that the individual receives the elements of his character, viz. his physical heredity, his temperament, his social and national status, his moral and religious convictions. But familial life also constitutes a decisive training-ground for character: parental authority and familial discipline are the models and conditions of all authority and discipline in later life. In this respect, the family is not only the "societas domestica," the cell of the social organism, but also the "schola domestica," the cell of the educational system.

Not only is the family still considered as a central educational agency, but in the familial training the spirit governing English education is already at work. The family, the parents, authority and discipline, the whole familial life are not educational ends but means; self-help very soon becomes the maxim and self-activity the principle; parental control must end in self-control; familial discipline in self-discipline. Confidence in the educational value of the family must not encroach upon the confidence to be reposed in youth; respect for the form must not trench on the respect for freedom; reliance on authority must not weaken self-reliance.

* * *

Let us pass now to the school. In Germany the

school is first of all a national organ, a channel of transmission for the intellectual capital of *Kultur*. In England the school is a complement of the family, a further form of social life ; the family is too narrow a sphere to assume the tradition of the intellectual elements of civilization, and herein lies the "*raison d'être*" of the school. But this peculiar task of the school may not have unfulfilled the function which it has in common with the family, viz. the transmission of the moral elements of civilization.

Under the influence of the *Kultur*-idea, the Germans narrowed down the school to the schoolroom, school discipline to class and study discipline. In England the schoolroom is important, but school life has always been considered as an integral province of school education ; discipline is not merely a means to bring about the intellectual concentration of the pupils, it has a formative effect to impart ; school life and school discipline are two elements of character training. It is a traditional view of English education that the school community, the social life of the school, its moral tone and spirit, the social intercourse with companions, the games and the life in the playground have more influence on the moral training of the pupils than the moral instructions of the schoolroom.

This view of the educational value of the school as a form of social life is characteristically English and has been the outstanding feature of English school

education. Schoolroom discipline appealed to the spiritual forces of the pupils and developed their sentiment of honour and self-respect ; it rested on their co-operation and thus fostered personal responsibility ; it tended towards the ideal of self-government and thus inspired self-discipline and self-command. This conception of " schoolroom discipline " is one of the most influential English contributions to educational thought.

In addition to this, English education has made the best of the educational value of school community life. This corporate life became a valuable training-ground for " good manners," which in the conviction of England, contributes in no small degree to make a man. Very soon, however, it was the games and sports which became the embodiment of this social form of life. In this respect it is worth remarking that no purely individual sport, such as running, has ever succeeded in laying a large hold on the English school. For the object in view was not merely to find a pastime, a form of recreation, a means of physical culture ; the original end in view was to find a practising-ground for the social instincts of the pupils, to foster their sociability and train their social thought, feeling, and action, to build their character. It was the headmasters who came forward for moral ideals who became the great promoters of school athletics. Thus, football and cricket were more than mere games, they were " institutions." " The discipline and reliance on one another which they teach are

valuable ; they are unselfish games. They merge the individual in the team ; he doesn't play that he may win but that his side may. . . . And the captain ! . . . what a post is his in the school-world ! almost as hard as the headmaster's—requiring skill and gentleness and firmness and I know not what other rare qualities" ("Tom Brown's Schooldays").

Not less typical again is the English view of the teacher. In Germany the teacher is first of all a representative of Kultur, a man of learning and knowledge, whose mission it is to teach and thus to make new members of the Kultur-community. In England, the teacher is first of all a man, a character, having for his mission to teach but above all to make men, to train characters. Therefore, his living personality, not less than his lessons and knowledge, determine his educational influence. The formative creative power of his personality is the highest proof of his vocation and constitutes the great dignity of his profession. The distinction between the German and the English view of the teacher is adequately expressed in the words of Colonel Parker : "The knowledge ideal makes the teacher an artisan ; the character ideal makes him an artist."

As regards the branches of learning, the Germans give prominence to the national, the English to those that are human and moral. Here the ethico-religious branches form the nucleus around which all the others crystallize ; they form the focus of concentration. Consequently the moral value of a

branch has a great deal to do with determining its place in the curriculum. Knowledge of character-forming value comes first ; knowledge of general utility second. Knowledge, learning, science are not taught for their own sake ; all the intellectual activity of the school, the work of the teacher, the spirit of the organization, the noblest motives of the pupils are directed not to increasing knowledge merely but to make better men.

* * *

In all departments of life, England has viewed all State-intervention with apprehension and distrust. Apart from this national peculiarity of mind, its very view of education was bound to encourage this distrust. Social life, the living soul, personality, self-activity and personal freedom, which in its opinion constitute the main factors of education, could only be impeded and deadened by the impersonal and bureaucratic spirit of political interference. To its mind, State-control would have meant mechanization of methods, dead precepts instead of living examples of personalities, rigid unity instead of variety, intellect and body instead of the whole man, organization instead of soul. This spirit has served as a barrier against all direct interference especially in secondary and university, but even in elementary education. The State began to intervene in matters of school education in the first instance on the score of social hygiene and public welfare : Public Health and Factory Acts

have been the stepping-stones to Education Acts. In the present school organization there is no real system, no organic whole, no unity, no centralization, no uniformity in methods ; there is a federation, an aggregate, a variety of schools, decentralization in local school boards, "suggestions" in methods, etc.—facts all of which prove that England maintains the principle that the school is not a creation of the State, that the State is not the educator of the people, but at the most, the trustee of the traditional capital of civilization which belongs to the people. The schools are the outgrowth of social life and as far as the State is one of the social institutions, it has its educational influence and rights, but it must not violate the rights of the individual, of the family, society, Church and mankind.

The idea that social life is the main factor of education and society the substratum of school organization has given birth to a most typical product, namely, the Boy Scout Movement. Its social origin, its principle of corporate life, its moral ideal, the whole of its organization and the nature of its activities render it a movement that could only have sprung up in England and at the same time an original and fecund innovation into the traditional fabric of education.

* * *

English education arrests one by its simplicity, by the absence of show and brilliancy ; at bottom

it is merely the systematization of common sense in matters educational. There is not in England that strong belief in education, that cult of the school, that common species of enthusiasm for culture which is ever studying the interests of the nation, the State and the fatherland, that luxuriance of educational theories, that imposing organization in school system, that exaltation of science, knowledge, scientists and professors, which are such outstanding features in Germany.

But the question is not to have a brilliant view or an imposing system of education ; what is of real moment is to have a true and not a false education. True education does not give prominence to the rare and dazzling but to the simple and familiar elements of life. True education puts education before pedagogy, practice before theory, the mother before the professor, home-life before school, freedom before unity, man before nation and State, heart before intellect, conscience before science ; in short, it essentially brings forward the “ *unum necessarium* ” of all education : culture of character, the key to which is that great suppressor of all show, self-abnegation.

VI

ENGLISH AND GERMAN EDUCATION COMPARED

SUCH then are the general outlines of the two educational conceptions under consideration ; now we can proceed to an appreciation of their respective value.

This question of the value of English and German education has already been raised and discussed. The general way of presenting this problem and the solutions which have been put forward would appear to denote that the question has been considered as one of alternatives, thus evidencing the sharp antagonism that exists between the two conceptions.

The question : “ German education or English ? ” can be answered in each of the following four ways, and in fact every one of these four solutions has had its defenders :

Neither German nor English education ;
German education and not English ;
English education and not German ;
English and German education.

* * *

Some people think that the war will exclude any

return whatever to former conditions and this especially in matters educational. In their opinion, nothing is going to be the same after the war ; there will be such a revolution, that the pre-war education will be simply a thing of the past and that the coming education will be built on entirely new principles which will be "neither English nor German."

This solution rejects both kinds, not because they are wrong in themselves, but because they will not be able to fit the new conditions.

This attitude of mind surely overlooks the plain facts. As yet nobody can tell what the real conditions after the war will be. Moreover, to suppose that those conditions will mean an absolute break with the past is wholly gratuitous. What the facts seem to point out is, not that the national element will be weakened and that the racial tradition will be broken, but rather that they will be continued and strengthened. In general, a complete rupture with the past in educational matters is unthinkable and the notion of it could only enter a mind which, before the war, was habitually tinged with ideals quite remote from the realities of life and which now, in the days of war, underestimates the great instinctive reverence of mankind for tradition. As a matter of fact, despite the war, the continuity of national education is being assured every day in English schools and in those of Germany as well. The future will show, as history proves abundantly, that the school and the educational institutions are

the greatest strongholds of tradition and conservatism.

* * *

More serious, however, is the attitude of those who favour the second solution : " German education and not English."

The value of German education will be discussed later. At this juncture, we only propose to examine a current movement of opinion in England, which, under the influence of the war, constantly seeks to exalt German education and, tacitly at least, to belittle that which is English.

The psychology of this opinion will enable us to appraise it at its true value. As we said at the very outset, every historical crisis is followed by a stir in the world of education ; and to this general rule the present war has proved to be no exception, for it has caused education to become the burning question of the hour especially here in England.

The consequence of this is that with quite a number of people who, prior to the war, put little faith in the power of education, those two terms " war and education " are now held to be inseparably related and by way of proving this they point to Germany's efficiency and explain it solely by German education. In the end they can see education only in the light of the war, and this has brought them at once to the theory that war is the highest touchstone of education.

In this opinion lurks a grave danger ; for this,

indeed, is nothing short of the militaristic conception of education. If really we were to accept this principle and make it the cornerstone of our education, then should be introduced in our own public life the soul of German militarism and Kultur. England is, at present, in the throes of war when every individual is sacrificing himself for the sake of his nation ; but if, in fact, England were to educate the children of her defenders with the sole aim of making the most of them for the State and its future wars, then her armies would have fought in vain, for the principle of German militarism which rates an individual only according to his value for the State, would be sown and fostered in her own children.

To a certain extent every standard can be applied to education inasmuch as education is coextensive with life and that life has been approached and studied by the moderns from many points of view and measured by as many standards. Consequently, there is room for a military standard of education, though this is the lowest one and the meanest, because it looks at education from the pathological standpoint, viz. from the standpoint of war, which is the disease of civilization. If we took up this standpoint generally, we should be logically compelled to conduct the education of normal children on principles which apply only to the abnormal.

The true standards of education must be sought in the normal state of civilization, which is peace, and in the normal life of the individual, which is life

in peace-time, because education is essentially striving not to make the strong man but the righteous man, because it is essentially aiming not at the strengthening of the nation but at its betterment.

And just as in life we find that in the end right is might, that the righteous man is also the strong man, the righteous nation also the strong nation, in the same way we shall come to see that the education which is based on the rightest principles is also making the strongest man and the strongest nation.

* * *

The third solution : “ English education and not German ” has this characteristic, that it was put forward before the war and found its defenders on the Continent.

It is a very remarkable fact, and worthy of careful consideration by the English public at this moment, that in Germany the greatest educational authority, namely, Dr. Fr. W. Foerster, Professor of Education at the University of Munich, has condemned the German conception of education on moral grounds and that the type of education which he is advocating and defending in his works is based on the fundamental principles of English education. His books have been and are being read by hundreds of thousands and are causing a real revolution in the educational world of Germany. Foerster himself is not only a great educationist, but a philosopher with a deep and original insight on the moral, social and national problems of the

day, and, moreover, a man who has lived through thick and thin the maxim : “ *Amicus Plato, . . . ‘amicus egometipse,’ sed magis amica veritas.* ”¹

A Frenchman, M. Edmond Demolins, attached to the review “ *La Science Sociale*, ” founded by the famous sociologist Le Play, has devoted his talents and energies to defend the same solution in his sensational book : “ *A quoi tient la Supériorité des Anglo-Saxons ?* ”²

Foerster and Demolins, each from his own point of view, have shown powerfully and beyond all doubt the deep antagonism that separates the two systems of education and have, in their own solution, struck the right note with regard to their own people who are overburdened with intellectualistic education. However, as the truth lies neither in intellectualism nor in voluntarism (or whatever name one chooses to give to the new philosophy), but in the golden mean of the two extremes, so also the true solution lies in a just compromise between moral and intellectual, between English and German education.

* * *

The last solution and also the right one is expressed in the formula : “ English and German education.” Each must complete the other. English education

¹ For more details we would refer the reader to our systematic study : “ *L’Ethique et la pédagogie morale de Foerster*, ” Louvain, Institut Supérieur de Philosophie, 1911. In English has been published his remarkable book, “ *Marriage and the Sex Problem* ” (London, Wells Gardner), to which the translator, Mr. Meyrick Booth, has written a valuable “ *Introduction*. ”

² English translation : “ *Anglo-Saxon Superiority* ” (London The Leadenhall Press).

is right and sound, but incomplete ; German education is wrong in its very base, but contains much that is true.

There is both strength and weakness in German education. Its strength lies, firstly, in the national conception, in the view of the whole, in the unity of organization and in State-centralization. But here also lurks the fundamental error. By emphasizing the national point of view, it has sacrificed the individual ; by fixing its gaze on the whole, it has neglected the interests of the individual unit ; its unity degenerated into rigid uniformity ; State-centralization encroached upon the rights of personality and of social institutions.

In the second place, the strength of German education resides in its intellectual character. The new Germany has kept up the dictum of the Middle Ages : "Germania docet," Germany is the land of schools. But too dear a price has been paid for this title, for moral education and character-training have thereby been pushed into the background. And here also another fundamental error reveals itself. Civilization has been sacrificed to Kultur, conscience to science, will and heart to intellect, conduct to learning. Moreover, its intellectual education itself is too abstract, too bookish, too pedantic ; it is too remote from real life.

The strength of English education, on the contrary, is drawn from bed-rock principles : it starts from that vital principle that personality is all-sacred and that the rights of the soul are inalien-

able. In this respect, English education is based on the fundamental idea of Christianity and on the organic principle of Christian civilization. Thus English education is rooted in truth, in tradition, in the living reality, and therefore English education is strong because it is based on a right foundation.

But looking at education as she has exclusively from the personal point of view, England has not realized sufficiently the national value of education ; she has seen its value for the individual, but she has failed to grasp that education has a vital function to perform in the social, national, and imperial organism. In this respect the personal point of view needs to be extended and completed.

Yet another source of its strength dwells in the fact that, in the individual soul, it regards moral character as paramount. Conscience is more important than science ; character is more important than knowledge ; to make a good man is more important than to make a clever one. "Be good . . . and let who can be clever" (Ch. Kingsley) has been her maxim. Here again the principle is based on the Christian teaching and on a sound philosophy of life ; here again English education is strong because it rests on true and tested principles.

Intellectual education has been regarded as a matter of secondary importance in comparison with character training ; and that is but right. The weakness of this attitude will be pointed out later on.

In the third place, English education is strong

because it is based not only on the rights of the individual soul and on the importance of character, but because it keeps constantly abreast of social life. English education, like life itself, is spontaneous, free, personal, practical, based on self-activity and self-help ; like life itself it is embodied not in uniform types but in a variety of institutions. All that is bookish, too abstract, too theoretical, all that smacks too much of the schoolroom, all pedantism is alien to the spirit of English education.

But the defect of this quality cannot escape the attention, for the English mind shows too much apathy towards theory and too much distrust of organization. Sound theory is not pedantic and unreal, nor does sound organization hamper freedom nor kill variety.

Thus, the comparison of both systems leads to the conclusion that the defects of the one are the qualities of the other.

* * *

But the great fact must not be overlooked that the strength of English education lies in its fundamental principles and its weakness in its super-structure, whereas the opposite is the case with Germany.

This is of capital importance for the future, for it means that the English educational organism being sound in its vital organs, pure in its blood, is capable of adapting itself to the new circumstances and of assimilating the new elements which the need of the future will bring in. It means that here there

will be sound evolution, whereas in Germany there will be educational revolution.

The soundness of English education is not confined to the matter of principles, but it is proved by the fact that it has stood the test of life. The fact that millions of men who have been trained in its principles have gone out voluntarily for the defence of the weak and the defence of civilization is the best proof that an education which is organized essentially for peace and on right human principles, is also the strongest education for war. On the contrary, the catastrophe into which Germany has plunged the world by its Kultur-fanaticism and its military view of education shows that its system is not only wrong in principle, but disastrous for its own welfare and for the welfare of the whole of civilization. This proves abundantly the far-reaching power of moral character, the acquisition of which is the main end of English education. Germany's patriotism, inspired by the Kultur-idea, may be intense and yet at the same time unsound. True patriotism is not based on the strength and the power of one's country ; it is not even based on the idea that it is one's own, but it is rooted in the moral character of the individual, in his love of justice, truth, righteousness, and honour. Of his country the true patriot says with the poet :

"I could not love thee, dear, so much
Loved I not honour more."

An education which is proved to be based on

sound principles and is capable of inspiring self-sacrifice will possess sufficient vitality to form the nucleus of a thorough national education.

* * *

As to the question of reforms, in point of organic principles, England has nothing to learn from Germany. Its great maxim must be: "Vetera novis augere"! The old principles are rooted in the very soul of England, they have stood the test of reason and philosophy, they have borne the burden and the heat of the past and they will prove themselves equal to the strain of the future. All innovations that take no heed of tradition will be built upon sand.

The new elements to be introduced have already been implicitly acknowledged where we gave the three weaknesses of English education.

The first is the extension of the educational horizon. Germany's system was built with an exclusive eye to the interests of the nation and of the State, and therefore it went wrong. But, nevertheless, this system has opened new horizons in education. England has looked at education from the personal and human point of view; though this view is the right one, it remains to be completed. As a matter of fact, as we have seen above, the larger view has obtained in places, but it was too vague and not sufficiently acknowledged so as to bear full fruits in all the departments of culture.

As the foregoing chapters have shown, education is in its very nature a social process. Only by approaching it from the combined individual and social point of view is it possible to gain insight into its nature. Plato says that in order to understand social elements of life, such as language, myth, custom, etc., the phenomena both of the individual psyche and of social life must be rubbed together like two pieces of wood, and that then the flash of light will appear. This is also the case with education. Besides the educational conditions of individual life must be considered the educational conditions of the social organism, of the nation, the State and humanity. The special interest of each and every social group must be borne in mind : England has neglected the educational interests of the nation and of the State. Culture may be of little value to individuals as such, and consequently they may neglect their education, but the future of a nation and of a State that is composed of such individuals is doomed. The education of an individual may be unimpeachable as far as he is a man ; but as far as he is a member of a nation, a citizen of a State, he has an educational task to perform which cannot be neglected without grave prejudice to his country and rendering his education most inadequate and deserving of the highest censure.

The second new element to be introduced in English education is the deepening of its intellectual culture. This weakness of English education is intimately connected with its neglect of the national

significance of education just mentioned. In the individual, intellectual culture must not endanger the moral character ; its value is only relative. This relative value, however, becomes of the utmost importance from the point of view of the nation. It is unquestionably true that moral character must remain the basis not only of the individual, but of the nation and of the State as well. But the evidence of facts is that the intellectual element of culture is the changing, the progressive element and that, in the life of nations belonging to the same civilization, intellectual culture has become a factor of decisive importance. In order to keep its place, the nation requires that the best brains of its members, no matter what their social condition, should be discovered and developed to the full and that the average intellect should be made as efficient as possible. As regards particular branches, such as sciences and modern languages, it is not enough that a certain number of individuals cultivate them or are interested in them ; the nation requires those branches to be promoted, cultivated, and diffused on such a scale as will enable her to keep her place amongst her competitors.

The third new element is efficient organization. This weakness also has its cause in the fact that the interests of the whole have not sufficiently been considered. In order that the English school system should efficiently fulfil its function in the national organism it wants adjustment to the new conditions.

In fact these reforms are already on foot. The national significance of education has been a striking effect of the war ; the demand of eminent men for a wider and deeper study of sciences and for more cultivation of modern languages has aroused public opinion and the need for readjustment of the school system is admitted and discussed throughout the thinking world.¹

There will be an educational crisis everywhere ; the reforms needed in England constitute a formidable task ; nevertheless there are many reasons to hope that it will be successfully assured and accomplished.

For England, to remedy intellectual backwardness will only require a short period, compared with the time it will take Germany to recover from her moral atrophy.

Moreover, the need of the hour will be so urgent that more intellectual culture will be viewed in an entirely new light. The "bread-and-butter" motive of study is not a very noble one and the individual whose love of culture is merely inspired by that incentive will be a very poor friend of the muses. On the other hand, however, it constitutes a very powerful motive, and experience seems to prove that not only parents and pupils, but entire classes and nations who in their life and schooling look with no eye on the practical benefits of learning and study are generally very little interested in the

¹ This is patent from many sides, and not least from the persistent advocacy of educational reform started by *The Times Educational Supplement*.

matter of intellectual culture, and still worse, feel very little stimulus to intellectual work. This has been to a great extent the case with England ; up till now, the full force of this motive has not been felt ; very likely a marked change will take place in the near future. "Necessity is the best educator," says Pestalozzi. This is true especially for intellectual education, and not only for an individual, but also and still more for a nation. In England the need will inspire more love of intellectual culture ; the need will organize and reform ; the need especially will bring into play the immense reserves of energy which are still stored up in the English people. "When thoroughly convinced of the necessity of exerting themselves, the people of these islands put into it more energy, tenacity, and purpose than any others. But they take a great deal of convincing. . . . The real reason why other nations have overtaken and passed us in this or that branch is that they work harder. Our people will not exert themselves until they are compelled ; they have grown lazy from over-prosperity. But when they are forced by necessity to take off their coats they win again every time. The old capacity is still there though maybe somewhat rusted in places from disuse" ("The Times," 12-11-'15).

But this "bread-and-butter" motive will sooner or later be reinforced and idealized by the moral motives, which make such a natural appeal to the English character. Sooner or later it will be discovered that although abstract and one-sided

intellectualism is detrimental to the interests of moral character, yet at the same time sound intellectual ideals and work and culture are powerful means to its formation.

* * *

In the work of reform, amongst the dangers to be avoided must be mentioned first that of nationalism and politicism. The educational interests of the nation and of the State must be considered and catered for more than before, but at the same time they must not be allowed to encroach upon the more sacred interests of man ; otherwise they lead to disaster.

Secondly, the “bread-and-butter” motive will grow in strength and there will be a danger of its degenerating into a spirit of commercialism. The conquest of the markets is the ambition of our economical policy ; it is also one of the motives, but it must not become the ideal of our intellectual culture. As pure intellectual ideals make but little appeal to the English mind, it will be necessary to bring intellectual activity in closer contact with the traditional ethical idealism of England. The moral value of intellectual work, its character-value, its power for the development of personality are the aspects by which it will be lifted into an idealistic atmosphere.

At the same time, the danger of intellectualism will already be largely eliminated. England will find a great safeguard in its peculiar turn of mind

and in its traditional culture. Moreover, the war will have shown with effect the tragic aspect of science, of inventions and of theories of life so as to make it plain to the most superficial mind, that progress in knowledge, in intellect, in science, which is not attended by a corresponding progress in character and conscience, in heart and soul, is bound sooner or later to end in a catastrophe not only for individuals, but for entire nations. This fundamental truth has been the organic principle of that ethical idealism in which we have found not only the soul of England but also the soul of our Civilization.

Therefore, it is not only on behalf of her own citizens, not only on behalf of her own soul, but on behalf of our whole Western Civilization that England must stave off the danger of intellectualism. In this respect the words of one of her greatest observers of modern life constitute a grave warning : "It is to be feared," says Mr. Benjamin Kidd, "that the rationalistic school which has been in the ascendant during the greater part of the nineteenth century, and which has raised such unstinted paeans in honour of the intellect, regarding it as the triumphant factor of progress in the splendid ages to come, is destined to undergo disillusionment in many respects. Sooner or later it must become clear to all the more far-seeing thinkers amongst this party that, in so far as the Western peoples have to depend solely on their intellectual capacity, and the results of their intellectual development, to

maintain the supremacy they have obtained over what are called the lower races, they are leaning on a false hope. As time goes on, it must be realized that the promise of the intellect in this respect is a delusive one. All the conquests of mind, all the arts and inventions of life, will be open to the rest of the world as well as to these peoples, and not only may be equally shared in by others, but may be utilized with effect against the Western races themselves in the competition of life. As the process of development proceeds it must become increasingly evident that the advanced races will have no power, in virtue of their intellectual characteristics alone, to continue the position of ascendancy they have hitherto enjoyed throughout the world, and that if they have no other secret of rule than this, the sceptre is destined eventually to pass from them" ("Social Evolution," p. 244).

* * *

From these considerations it becomes strikingly apparent, that the dangers of the new elements can only be warded off by a corresponding strengthening of the old principles, and therefore the first condition of successful reform is that English education should be true to itself, true to its human ideal and true to its ethical tradition.

According to a shrewd Eastern fable, the eagle has the power to soar unwinking towards the sun ; but from time to time its wings would flag and its eyes grow dazzled, and then it must needs plunge

into a wonderful fountain in order once more to renew its vigour and be rejuvenated. A nation is like this eagle straining for itself and its posterity towards high and distant goals ; the spring that will reinvigorate the from time to time waning aspirations of its soul is the tradition streaming down from generation to generation. Let the nation be wise enough to turn to this fountain of youth and the promise of the Scripture shall be fulfilled in its regard : “ *Replet in bonis desiderium tuum, renovabitur ut aquilæ juventus tua* ” (Ps. 120, 5). Let your desire steep itself in the good things of tradition and your youth shall be renewed as the eagle’s.

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